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GREEDY "CHARITY" AIDS PROFIT MACHINE

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE large modern foundations, such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller and Russell Sage foundations are among the most significant recent developments. They are in the domain of philanthropy what the trusts are in the field of industry.

The three main stages in modern industrial development are successively represented by the individual employer, the corporation and the trust.

The three corresponding phases of philanthropic development are private alms, charity organizations and "foundations."

Up to the latter part of the past century, charity is entirely unorganized, and consists of promiscuous and indiscriminate alms-giving. Toward 1870 a general movement springs up all over the country to organize charitable relief on a comprehensive and scientific basis.

Charity organization societies are formed in all important cities, introducing methods of thorough investigation of applications for relief and aiming to restore economic independence to the objects of their benefactions. Charity becomes an efficient, businesslike pursuit.

Toward the end of the century, the large incorporated philanthropies begin to make their appearance. First in the field was Mr. Andrew Carnegie with his Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, followed by the somewhat similar but more magnificent Carnegie Institution at Washington. The latter has an endowment fund of \$12,000,000, and is engaged in almost every conceivable branch of scientific research and sociological investigation.

BIRTH OF FOUNDATIONS.

THE next few years saw the birth of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, with an endowment of \$10,000,000, to provide pensions for college professors, the Hero Fund of \$300,000,000 to reward deeds of courage and bravery, the Carnegie Peace Fund of \$10,000,000 to promote peace and amity among nations, the Library Fund to erect library buildings for cities, and finally, the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This is a sort of a holding company for the diverse philanthropic interests of Mr. Carnegie.

The corporation was organized in 1901, the income of which, in the language of the act of incorporation, is to be used in aiding institutions of learning, peace endowments, libraries, hero funds, etc.

The "Carnegie benefactions" were closely followed by those of John D. Rockefeller, whose first endowments on a sufficient scale, the Chicago University and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, were soon merged, in 1903, in the General Education Board, representing in expenditures and capital more than \$75,000,000, and only last year the Rockefeller Foundation was organized in New York with a capital of \$100,000,000.

The Russell Sage Foundation, likewise a New York corporation, was organized in 1907 with a capital of \$10,000,000, and many other funds, endowments and foundations of smaller scope, but similar general type, are in existence today.

The movement of philanthropic consolidation thus marks a striking reformation in the movement of industrial consolidation of the end of the last century, and just as the first great American industrial combinations were the Oil Trust and the Steel Trust, so the first of the gigantic philanthropic trusts are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

One so strikingly reformed in the oil and the other so firmly founded on steel.

The parallelism between the industrial growth and philanthropic development is furthermore not accidental. There is a true and intimate relation between these two fields of human activity.

The enormous gains by capitalists in their industrial pursuits are naturally transferred by them to all other domains of their activity, and methods of organization, economy and efficiency are found to be equally applicable to all.

HOW POVERTY GROWS.

THE trend of industrial growth affects, not only the methods, but also the substance and objects of philanthropy. In the earlier phases of the modern factory industry, poverty is considered an accident because unemployment is a rare and passing condition. Temporary pecuniary relief in the shape of alms comes to be all that the situation requires.

With the larger development of capitalism, the perfection of labor-saving machinery, consolidation of plants, etc., unemployment becomes more widespread and lasting. Poverty assumes the dignity of a regular and general institution, and requires a large, systematic and sustained effort to cope with it. Hence the charity organization societies on a grand scale.

In very recent times, however, we have reached a stage in which poverty has given to an extent beyond the cure or even help of philanthropy. The number of jobless workers mounts into millions; they are bound to exist much below the margin of subsistence. Even the millions in the great modern philanthropic funds could not feed, clothe or shelter them.

Not even the philanthropic foundations do not even attempt the task of relieving existing poverty. It is a notorious fact, a fact pregnant with meaning, that none of the wealthy foundations expends any appreciable part of its funds in old-fashioned charity.

DO NOT AIM TO RELIEVE POVERTY.

HARDLY any part of the huge funds concentrated in the modern "philanthropic" trusts is applicable to the relief of the congested poverty, misery and distress of the American population. No branch of their activities is concerned with the improvement of the general conditions of existence and standard of life of the American worker.

If we ask the big "Carnegie benefactions" to find but one thing that may be considered of benefit to workingmen. This is represented by a fund of \$4,000,000 for injured and aged employees of the United States Steel Corporation. The amount was contributed by Mr. Carnegie as part of the general fund of \$12,000,000 created by the Steel Corporation for the purpose of providing pensions for disabled workers.

It is rather doubtful whether this contribution should not be more properly classed as a business investment than as a "benefaction."

FIRST READ THIS

Editor's Note.—Here is the story unmaking the "foundations" of the nation's biggest multi-millionaires. It was told by Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the Socialist Party, also Socialist Labor Committee from New York, to the United States Industrial Commission sitting at New York. Every reader of the American Socialist should read and study this story carefully. Then put this copy of your paper into the hands of your neighbor and see that he or she reads it, too. The plutocrats of Rockefeller and Carnegie would soon scramble if we could get this story into the hands of all the people. Now read the story!

But if we accept this particular fund as partaking of the latter characteristic, it must be borne in mind that it is practically the smallest item in the list of Mr. Carnegie's munificent endowments.

It is somewhat overshadowed by the item of \$5,000,000 for church organs and \$30,000,000 for the hero fund, Mr. Carnegie's remaining endowments are all devoted to educational purposes of one kind or another.

Mr. Rockefeller's earlier philanthropic endowments were entirely disconnected from charitable relief, and the Rockefeller Founda-

tion has so far contributed to organized charities the sum of \$45,000 or less than 1 per cent of its annual income. It has appropriated a large sum for the relief of the Belgian sufferers from the war, but this was done under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, and has now, we just learn, been discontinued.

The Sage Foundation devotes practically all of its work and income to the investigation of social conditions and problems.

CONCERN IN FOREIGN NATIONS.

ANOTHER striking feature of the large modern philanthropies is that they show a decided concern in the welfare of foreign nations, and a corresponding indifference to the needs of their own countrymen.

As already noticed the only charitable work on a large scale undertaken by the Rockefeller Foundation was to send shiploads of food for the relief of the war sufferers in Belgium. This was a good deed, and I would be the last person in the world to criticize it in the spirit of a narrow nationalistic or pseudo-patriotic sentiment.

On the contrary, I rejoice in every manifestation of the growth of the spirit of international brotherhood. I hope to see the day when the men and women of all countries will consider themselves equal and affectionate members of the great human family.

But why restrict the necessary help to Belgium? While the Belgian relief ships were loaded with wheat, corn and other foodstuffs, the hungry and suffering Americans, their wives and children were dying of hunger.

The bread lines in New York, within perhaps one mile of 36 Broadway, were growing longer and longer from day to day. Many of the men in these dreadful lines have probably at some time been working in one or the other of the numerous industries in which Rockefeller has invested, have probably helped to augment his great fortune. They were given no thought by the Rockefeller Foundation.

The only other extensive activity of the Rockefeller Foundation has been the creation and the work of the International Health Commission. This has directed its main activities to the eradication of the hook worm disease in the British West Indies, Central America, Egypt, Ceylon, the Malay States, and the Philippines, and also to the promotion of medical education and public health in China.

Again I say that in common with all broad-minded people of this country, I should be very glad to see the Egyptians and Malaysians freed from the ugly hook worm disease.

TUBERCULOSIS KILLS THOUSANDS.

BUT I cannot forget that many, many thousands of American workers die annually from tuberculosis, a disease preventable and curable by proper sanitary surroundings, wholesome food, fresh air and rest, that comparative small expenditures of money would save large numbers of the unfortunate sufferers, needy victims of the social and industrial surroundings into which their work has forced them.

I also think of the half a million working men and working women who are killed or maimed every year in the mines, factories and on the railroads of this country, the very industries whose stocks and bonds make up the fund of the Rockefeller Foundation. These accidents are to a large extent preventable by the application of proper safety appliances and the enforcement of laws governing rules of work.

An institution of the power and influence of the Rockefeller Foundation could contribute largely to bring about a reduction of such accidents. Why confine the work of the International Health Commission to the hook worm disease in the British West Indies?

Even the domestic birds are discriminated against by the foundation. The tract of land purchased in Louisiana at a cost of \$225,000 was so purchased as to exclude the migratory birds.

Among Mr. Carnegie's benefactions we notice the Foreign Hero Fund to stimulate the courage of our contemporaries abroad and the now deserted Peace Palace in The Hague, besides his numerous benefactions in Scotland.

JUST BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

THERE is a method and a purpose in these international capitalist philanthropies. They may be regarded as a somewhat more modern and practical development of the old-fashioned missionary work among the "heathen" races. Both are at bottom business enterprises. The modern American industries, particu-

larly the large scale and trusted variety, have reached international proportions. The United States does not offer them a sufficient market. The civilized countries of Europe likewise produce more than they need. The big American capitalist concerns want new markets, which must be created in the undeveloped parts of the globe. To become commercially valuable the benighted aboriginals of the uncivilized countries must acquire two qualities—they must develop a taste for the ways and products of modern civilization, and they must learn to produce something valuable to give us in exchange for our products.

This is why our capitalists so cheerfully endow missionaries to instruct the heathen in the ways of Christian civilization, including the wearing of decent apparel, preferably of American manufacture, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why they are now being forced to part with their favorite hook worm diseases.

This is the situation in a nutshell. The American industries can well dispense with a million or so of the surplus working population of this country. Hence they are permitted to die of consumption, venereal diseases and preventable accidents. But the population of

ment of their prevailing practices, a definite view of the causes of industrial strife and unrest, a constructive social program.

BUYING UP THE COLLEGE.

IF SUCH college teacher knows that his institution owes its life and existence to the generosity of a capitalist or a group of capitalists, that his salary and the position of the college president and trustees depend on such capitalists would he be likely to be outspoken in opposition to the interests of the benefactor, even though his honest views would lead him to such opposition?

Quite likely the givers of generous college endowments rarely if ever place any restrictions upon the academic freedom of college teachers. Such restrictions are quite unnecessary. They arise automatically and unconsciously.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller has admitted before this commission that "there is a possible danger with reference of such influence to higher education."

If the giver retains any kind of control, I think it is a serious question.

But the giver always retains some kind of moral control, even when the gift is absolutely

unconditional. First, there is the strong sentiment of gratitude and loyalty which the ordinary recipient of a benefaction feels toward the benefactor, and, second, there is in most cases the lurking possibility of having to apply

Mr. Eliot has added his testimony that a number of colleges have to his knowledge been influenced by institutions like the Carnegie or Rockefeller foundations, but in his opinion such influence was always "for good." For whose good? It was undoubtedly a good influence from the point of view of the donor, but was it always a healthy influence from the point of view of academic independence and democracy?

Dr. Eliot himself, as president of the Harvard University, has been the recipient of magnificent gifts from Mr. Rockefeller and other capitalists. It was also he who proclaimed the strike-breaker a hero. It is not possible that his views, whether right or wrong, were unconsciously influenced by such gifts, and that his notions of "good" influences were formed in the same manner?

Perhaps an even more insidious influence over college teachers is exercised by Mr. Carnegie's pension system. The average college professor is a very much underpaid man. As a rule, he has not been able to lay aside anything substantial against the needs of the most trying and helpless period of his life—old age, for him, who did his profession for the care of his family in case of death.

Neither the government nor the college administration come to his relief. It is Mr. Carnegie who plays the part of kind providence, and the poor teacher can only repay him in loyalty to him and his class. The benefactor is in a measure the benefactor of the benefactor.

The great industrial corporations of our time have robbed the people of their economic independence. They are now making a bold assault on the intellectual independence of this country, and their philanthropies, endowments and foundations are the instruments of such assault.

But even more fatal from the point of view of social desirability are the so-called "social research" activities of the foundations, their investigations into social conditions and publications of results. This statement is not meant as a criticism of the work that has so far been done by the Russell Sage Foundation, for that has in my opinion, been quite good on the whole. It is meant as an expression of the potential danger which lies in private enterprises, particularly if supported by unlimited means and undertaken by persons actively engaged in industrial and financial enterprises.

All the objections which may be raised against similar control of educational institutions apply with the same force to the control of social research by moneyed interests. But a number of new and stronger objections must be added.

The investigator in the field of natural science may approach the subject of his study without bias and as a rule his conclusions will not clash with any interest. But the investigator of social conditions and industrial relations has an entirely different task. He is called upon to study conditions which have a direct and vital bearing on people's material interests. He must pass upon the many conflicting claims between capital and labor. He must sit in judgment over the employing classes and the masses of the employees. He must alien himself at least in part with one side or the other. There is no such thing as an impartial judge of social conditions.

The Social Investigator, who derives his means, and gets his living from a group of capitalists actively engaged in industry, and frequently controlling their workers in embittered struggle, will not investigate, but apologize for his employer.

There are many more reasons why I believe that great foundations engaging in social research are social dangers, and I shall try to elucidate some of them by taking as an illustration

"INVESTIGATING" IN COLORADO.

THE Rockefeller Foundation announced in August of last year that it had determined to engage in the field of social and economic research on a large scale.

It appears from the statements of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., before the commission that

the elder Mr. Rockefeller had had some such plan under consideration for seven years. The industrial disturbances in Colorado impressed Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., "with the great need and public importance of finding an effective means of preventing such conflicts and caused him to undertake a far-reaching study of industrial relations."

It would seem to the ordinary mind that the object that required immediate study and attention was the struggle in Colorado, which had assumed outrageous forms and monstrous dimensions, particularly as the Rockefeller interests were directly concerned.

But Mr. Rockefeller as stockholder and director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company did not feel called upon to do anything in the matter, and Mr. Rockefeller a president of the foundation felt that "in view of" the passion aroused in Colorado and the many divergent interests involved there the foundation itself should not interfere in that situation, but that it was of the utmost consequence that the root causes of that and similar disturbances should be ascertained and, if possible, removed, not only in Colorado, but elsewhere."

And so Mr. Rockefeller's employees in Colorado

social enlightenment and progress.

The great private foundations and the numerous endowments for educational purposes and for "social welfare" work and study have sprung up and have assumed menacing proportions, because the government has neglected to occupy and fill the legitimate fields of functions. Nothing is more peculiarly a matter of general social concern than education and social betterment. In a well-regulated democracy these functions should be more jealously guarded as public or government prerogatives than the collection of money and universities of our country should be managed by the State and federal governments just as our common schools are, with ample provisions for democratic administration and full academic freedom.

The Commission on Industrial Relations should be made a permanent body with increased powers and means. It should be in a position to investigate on the spot and publicly all industrial disturbances of any importance as soon as they appear in any part of the country; to adjust grievances if possible or to recommend such legislative enactment or executive action as the case may require. At the same time I believe that the powers of all corporations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation should be strictly defined and limited.

The broad powers which such foundations enjoy under their present charters constitute a serious menace to the community. The Rockefeller Foundation as an illustration. It is incorporated by a special act of the New York Legislature "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

They may use such means to that end which from time to time shall seem expedient to its members or trustees." It may "invest or re-invest any principal, and deal with and expend the income and principal of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of the trustees will best promote its objects."

The corporation has no membership, properly speaking. It consists of directors or trustees without a constituency. The number of such trustees may be determined by the corporation and may be changed or increased at any time at the pleasure of the corporation. Under the terms of this act of incorporation the sum of the members or trustees may legally and legitimately be reduced to Mr. John D. Rockefeller and his "personal staff."

COULD FORTIFY BUSINESS INTERESTS.

THESE persons would have the right to apply the entire principal and income of the vast fund for the direct purpose of fortifying their business interests or the interests of the industrial system which they represent, without restriction.

They might use the tremendous power latent in such a large fortune to resist any public movement for greater social justice or greater industrial democracy, so long as they consider such movements as inimical to the "well-being of mankind," and it must be borne in mind that the trustees of the foundation are the only judges under their charter of what shall be considered as promoting the well-being of mankind.

There is hardly anything which such an immense sum of money concentrated in the hands of practically one individual and judiciously applied toward one particular object, could not accomplish. It is a tremendous power for good or a tremendous power for evil, and whether its overwhelming weight should be thrown into the scale of one or the other depends entirely on the inclination of a very small group of men, practically of one national election conducted on issues of vital national importance to the people, for instance, an issue over the government ownership of railroads or mines, or perhaps even a more general issue of industrial democracy, as against industrial feudalism. In a hotly contested election such an individual and concentrated power as the Rockefeller Foundation could well swing the election one way or the other, according to the conception of its trustees as to which side would best promote the well-being of mankind.

It would not need to directly subsidize political parties or to buy up the legislature at any time. It could flood the country with literature and speakers and resort to a thousand other less legitimate but more effective methods of influencing the election with the aid of its unlimited funds.

It is true that Mr. Rockefeller could do all these things as an individual, but he could not attain a special foundation for that purpose. But the incorporation of the foundation "for the promotion of the well-being of mankind throughout the world" tends to give his activities a certain prestige and power, which as an individual he would not possess, and, furthermore, it relieves him from an annual tax of \$100,000.

As a matter of fact, it is theoretically conceivable that the vast fund of \$100,000,000 thus segregated in the foundation may for a large number of years be manipulated in productive investments as well as any other part of Mr. Rockefeller's foundation, and at some critical moment be turned back to the donor or his heirs in some indirect form sufficiently veiled to answer the requirements of human well-being.

MUST CURB FOUNDATION.

IT IS a well-known fact that the foundation that is not controlled by the legislature at any time is always difficult to secure and more difficult to execute in view of "vested rights" which may accrue in the meanwhile, and also that the question whether the act should be repealed or not should be decided by the legislature, after the foundation has demonstrated by a flagrant act its hostility to public welfare, after the damage has been done.

Mr. Rockefeller's foundation is a particularly dangerous one, because it is endowed with such huge means and powers as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, and because it is the fraternal benefactor societies and banking and insurance corporations. Their objects should be definitely enumerated.

A reasonable and not too low minimum of membership should be prescribed. Its proceedings and deliberations should be public. It should be required to file detailed annual reports of all its transactions, and a suitable government agency should have supervisory and directory powers in connection with its activities. Finally, such corporation should not be exempt from taxation.

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This Week's Editorial
From Socialist Press

AN INCOMPLETE PROPOSAL.

(From The Milwaukee Leader.)

George W. Perkins, who fought

with Roosevelt at Armageddon, is

serving as chairman of Mayor Mit-

chel's unemployment committee in

New York. There are 500,000 unem-

ployed in New York. The distress

among the poor is even greater than

the suffering of the civil population

in London, Paris or Berlin.

When the commission was ap-

pointed by Mayor Mitchell, Amos

Pinchot expressed the opinion that

it was futile to expect men such as

Perkins and Gary, who are chief

among the beneficiaries of a system

based on the exploitation of labor

and natural resources, to propose

measures that will strike at the root

of the unemployment problem.

The committee has made its re-

port. It suggests that congress

might relieve the distress of the un-

employed poor by placing an em-

bargo upon wheat. An embargo

by throwing an immense surplus of

wheat on the market, would cheapen

it. But Mr. Perkins and his asso-

ciates propose no measures by

which the unemployed could pro-

duce the means to buy bread.

One of the first essentials in deal-

ing with an unemployed problem is

should think would be to find em-

ployment for the unemployed. A

policy which would be calculated to

restrict growing foodstuffs in the

United States to home consumption

as a temporary expedient is not

without its merits, but unless it

should be supplemented with mea-

sures to place the food supply at the

disposal of those who need it, the

benefits, we may believe, would ac-

cure to speculators rather than to

the poor and unemployed.

The British navy is doing all that

it can to place a partial embargo

upon our foodstuffs by cutting off

Germany's supplies, but the fact

that wheat is \$1.50 instead of \$2 a

bushel, which it undoubtedly would

be if the Germans and Austrians

were able to import our wheat, is

not apparently enabled the mil-

lions of unemployed in the United

States to satisfy their hunger. We

doubt should the Germans, through

the use of the submarine be able to

complete the embargo, if the unem-

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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr., will receive a copy of this issue of The American Socialist with the accompanying article, "Was Rockefeller Converted?" plainly marked. It may help to show him that the workers were not deceived by the press agent stunt perpetrated by his publicity man, Ivy Lee, during the hearings of the Industrial Commission in New York City.

WAS ROCKEFELLER CONVERTED?

By ADOLPH GERMER

New York, March 18, 1915

A VERY important trial is in progress in Pueblo, Colorado.

A number of striking coal miners are being tried on the charge of having shot and killed four mine guards near La Veta, Colorado, on November 8, 1913.

The capitalist press outside of Pueblo and immediate vicinity has given very little notice to the case. Perhaps it is because only several miners are tried for their lives.

What are the lives of eight miners or the interests that control the press? A few miners more or less is a matter of indifference to those who give public information.

BUT TO THE workers this case is all important. To the workers the case now being tried is fully as important as the Buck Stove and Range case or the Danbury Hatters case. Perhaps it is a little more important for in this case the very lives of at least eight of our comrades are at stake.

The charge against them is murdering mine guards who hired out to murder men, women and children who were fighting for the right to live. In other words, these miners now on trial at Pueblo are to be sent to the gallows for defending their homes and families.

Is this an ordinary prosecution, such as would be conducted against persons who are really guilty of murder? Are these miners who fought that those dependent upon them might live, being tried in the same manner as real criminals would be tried?

LET US EXAMINE just a few facts in connection with this case.

Who are the attorneys for the prosecution? J. J. Hendricks, the district attorney; Jesse Northcutt of Trinidad.

Who is Jesse Northcutt? The attorney for the Rockefeller coal operators.

This is the same Jesse Northcutt in whose office were stored a quantity of firearms during the strike. This is the same Jesse Northcutt, who in company with Felix and Belk, the notorious thugs, took machine guns from Trinidad to Walsenburg to be used on the strikers at the latter place. This is the same Jesse Northcutt who helped kick the brakeman from a Colorado and Southern train because he protested against Northcutt, Felix and Belk bringing a machine gun into a Pullman car.

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 100 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

By Local South Washington, W. Va.
 WHEREAS, The working classes of the various nations of Europe have been forced against their will into a world war which will bring nothing but misery and increased poverty to the workers of all nations;
 AND WHEREAS, The Socialist movement in the various nations of Europe has been forced to support the war effort of their respective governments;
 AND WHEREAS, The Socialist movement in the various nations of Europe has been forced to support the war effort of their respective governments;
 RESOLVED, That the American Branch of the Socialist movement declare itself opposed to all military activities, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED

That all Socialist legislators who vote military aid to capitalist governments do thereby automatically forfeit their membership in the Socialist Party, and be it further resolved, That the American Branch of the Socialist movement declare itself opposed to all military activities, and be it

By Local North, Ohio

That the Socialist Party of the United States denounce the ruling of the Civil Service Commission which requires that all employees of the government, including the various departments and bureaus, shall be sworn to support the war effort of their respective governments, and be it further resolved, That the American Branch of the Socialist movement declare itself opposed to all military activities, and be it

By Local Boston, Mass.

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By Local New York, N.Y.

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By Local Philadelphia, Pa.

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By Local St. Louis, Mo.

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By Local San Francisco, Cal.

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By Local Tacoma, Wash.

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SHALL WOMEN WORK?

By JOHN E. WICK

IT HAS sometimes been said that Socialism would bring about a condition wherein there would be no women working in the industries. But that is a great mistake. To be sure, we Socialists intend to abolish the long hours and the undesirable conditions under which women work at present. But we do not intend to abolish the long hours and the undesirable conditions under which men work at present. We do not intend to prohibit women from working at all. And it would be just as ridiculous to suppose that we intend to prohibit women from working at all.

POSSIBLY THE WOMEN will not choose to work in the mines and fields. But, in my humble opinion there will be millions of women working in the mills, factories, offices, and elsewhere. And they will work in the mines and fields if they so desire. It would be fatal to our prospects of reaching the women with the message of Socialism if we were to give the married women to understand that we did not intend to let them continue to earn their own living, but proposed to compel them to become dependent upon men. They prize that little independence they have, and they want more of it.

It would be equally fatal to our prospects of reaching the women with the message of Socialism if we were to give the married women to understand that they must remain dependent upon men. It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times that they are chafing under the galling chains of dependence.

Moreover, if we really did intend to shut women out of the industries Socialism would not be worth having. Even the rather pitiful measure of economic freedom secured by some women while capitalism reigns would be lost.

It is one of the greatest glories of Socialism that it will extend economic freedom to all women, and extend it to them in abundance. FAR FROM SHUTTING women out of the industries, Socialism will do just the opposite.

It will open up to every woman a full and free opportunity to earn her own living and to receive her full earnings. This means the total cessation of marriage for a home. It means that there will be no more prostitution, either inside or outside of the marriage relation.

It means that the sex relations between men and women will be raised to a plane of purity which can scarcely be imagined under the present degrading and impossible conditions.

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S DAY, SUNDAY, FEB. 28

At 10:00 a.m. at the following places:
 Boston, Mass. - Boston, Mass.
 Chicago, Ill. - Chicago, Ill.
 New York, N.Y. - New York, N.Y.
 Philadelphia, Pa. - Philadelphia, Pa.
 St. Louis, Mo. - St. Louis, Mo.
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Shots At The Enemy

By DUNCAN M. SMITH

The tremendous economic waste that results from the enforced idleness of several million men must be apparent to every intelligent economist. Under intelligent direction, such as there was at Panama, we could build with the unemployed such a system of public works as existed nowhere else in all history. It goes without saying that we could also produce enough wealth so that no one need be hungry or cold, but the practical politician is not far enough advanced for that. He can see the need of a public building or a good highway but he cannot hear the cry of the hungry.

If the European blockade is made grain tight we can keep our wheat at home and starve. Strange as it may seem to you that would be the effect. It would mean that wheat would go down in price and that our grain growing states would be left with their backs to the wall. Texas is because it has too much cotton.

It is said that there was less money spent in the Chicago primary campaign than in any of recent years. With four candidates, an satisfactory capitalist did not see the need of wasting money. Wait until the Socialists threaten and you will see the strong box of privilege fly open.

War has one advantage over peace. In the warring countries they try to feed the unemployed.

Humanitarianism is such a strong card in this age that the man who is suffering is taken to a free hospital and there the doctors perform miracles on his body. There is nothing in his losses which he physically and hunted financially to take his chance among stronger men. Society that took such good care of him when he was sick now lets him shift for himself no matter what the condition of the shifting may be at the time.

It is hard to have patience with the present period of reaction but we must remember that it will come to an end. Perhaps the forces of reaction are so strong that they will not let us have a free movement. There is a lot of history being made now to justify the socialist position. Individuals and communities are studying the unemployed problem and they have to confess that under capitalism there is no solution. This is bound to result in some change. When the hungry man has no place else to turn perhaps he will go to the party of the hungry. There would be a big vote if they should.

After a while people will quit pitying the war sufferers and begin pitying themselves. When they do we may expect something to drop.

American manufacturers assure the government on their word of honor that they are not building submarines for European countries but the Kaiser does not believe them. He knows about the word of honor of a business man.

The San Francisco exposition is open but no one has started for it yet. The walking will be better later on.

The war is to begin in earnest in the spring. All of the nations have new crops of prizes that they think deserve killing, perhaps for their stupidity in being private.

The capitalist notion of good times is a condition in which only a few thousand instead of a few million are starving to death.

The unemployed man must see by this time that the various governments will do nothing for him and that he must do something for himself.

We can't see why the United States should want to go to war. We have all of the benefits of war including war prices for food and none of the drawbacks.

The Army and Navy Journal is calling for 100,000 volunteers to show that this country is ready for war. No one is holding back the editors of that paper. The enlistment offices are open and the walls are covered with lying posters as an inducement.

Perhaps they are taking up a collection in Belgium for the unemployed in the United States. It would be consistent with the way of charity.

If the Industrial Commission will keep prying two or three years more they will probably discover that Rockefeller owns the Standard Oil Company.

Bryan is a child of fate. He put a one term plank in the platform and now Wilson has forgotten all about it and by the end of Wilson's term it will be forgotten by the people.

Gen. Villa owns a plain rambling house in Juarez. He isn't enough of a hypocrite to call it a board of trade and only allow bets on the price of wheat.

President Cook of the Illinois State Normal school said we should train an intelligent renting class as land was getting too high for the common man to think of buying a farm. That is a good idea professor, only do not let them become too intelligent. There would be danger in that. That should be like the intelligent working class, that thinks only of the interest of the boss and starves cheerfully when there is no work.

Here is a great idea. Why doesn't Mr. Bryan gather together the unemployed and deliver to them a Chautauque lecture?

Letters from "American Socialist" Readers

REFERENDUM ON WAR

The writer is not given to arguing in the party press about questions of party politics. This is his first offense. He feels however, that some of the arguments of the opponents of the "Philadelphia Resolution" dealing with the war-making power, are so remarkable when the fact that they come from Socialists taken into consideration that comment is justified. He doubts neither the sincerity nor the motives of the opponents of this resolution. He does however believe that some of their arguments would indicate that these are Socialists who are Democrats with a profound distrust in the majority. That they believe with the Tories of this day that the people should be protected from themselves. One of the arguments is that the majority, its feelings, its interests, its passions, its prejudices, its "patriotic" fervor aroused to the fever point would vote for war. Suppose this is true. The responsibility as well as the hardships, would then rest upon the majority and this would mean that the majority would be responsible for the war. This argument has been repeated. This argument has been buttressed with the statement that the people in one state who would have been benefited by an eight hour law recently voted against such a measure. The argument is that the majority in one state who would have been benefited by an eight hour law recently voted against such a measure.

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